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TIMELY SUGGESTIONS  
TO THE  
Republican Editors of Ohio.

BY  
HON. ROBERT P. PORTER,  
OF NEW YORK.

AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL LINCOLN BANQUET OF  
THE OHIO REPUBLICAN LEAGUE,

*Thursday Evening, February 12, 1891, Memorial  
Hall, Toledo.*

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ROBERT P. PORTER, SEPT. U. S. CENSUS

## AN ACTIVE AND USEFUL CAREER.

[TOLEDO BLADE, LINCOLN DAY, 1891.]

ROBERT P. PORTER was born June 30, 1852. He is the youngest son of Jane Harvey and James Winearls Porter, Esq., of Marham Hall, Norfolk, England. From his mother, a woman of great character and sound education, he inherited the literary ability which distinguished her father, Prof. John Harvey of Cambridge; and from his father the splendid physique of a long line of English country gentlemen whose lives were largely spent in out-door pursuits and amusements. In the picturesque, gray, ivy-grown church at Marham can be seen the monuments and tablets that for two hundred and fifty years have marked the resting places of the Porter and Winearls families.

Young Robert's early education was received at that famous grammar school of King Edward the Sixth in Norwich, where he continued up to the time of his father's death, just at the close of the Civil War, which he had followed with keen interest and the understanding of the close student of American history. One of a family of sixteen children, he now determined to take his fortune in his own hands, and seek a career in the new country which has been a providence to so many ambitious young Englishmen, whose only chance at home is in the church or in the army.

On his arrival here, Mr. Porter went at once to Northern Illinois where a branch of his father's family had preceded him, and after a few years devoted to study and teaching, found his natural vocation in journalism which he adopted as a profession, at the same time taking out naturalization papers in season to cast his first vote on attaining his majority. He served his apprenticeship on a country newspaper, and from 1872 acted as contributor and regular correspondent to the Chicago Times, Tribune, and Inter-Ocean. In 1877 he joined the editorial staff of the latter paper, making his specialty economic subjects, in dealing with which he evinced special aptitude. During this time, he also wrote frequently for the Galaxy, the Princeton Review, and the

International Review, of which magazine he later became editor ; and as a member of several different economic and scientific associations, he delivered addresses in Boston, Saratoga, Cincinnati, and other cities.

In 1879 Mr. Porter became connected with the Census Bureau under Gen. Walker, contributing to various papers at the same time. In 1882 appeared "The West in 1880," a volume which received the generous criticism of the English press and had a large sale. In 1882 Mr. Porter was appointed by President Arthur a member of the Tariff Commission, and did an unusual amount of work. Later he wrote letters for the New York Tribune on free trade in foreign countries, while traveling through Europe.

On his return from Europe, Mr. Porter accepted an editorship on the Philadelphia Press, continuing to pursue his industrial investigations in the manufacturing cities of the West and New South. During the campaign of 1884, Mr. Porter was a most energetic worker and writer; over half a million of his pamphlets, etc., being distributed throughout the country, large quantities of which were reprinted in Norwegian and German. In 1885 Mr. Porter in conjunction with Mr. E. H. Ammidown, founded the American Protective Tariff League. Twice visiting Ireland, his letters in various newspapers on the condition of that country are alone enough to make him famous.

In 1887, Mr. Porter returned to New York, where he saw a field for a daily Republican paper, at a price and of a conscientiousness calculated to meet the wants of busy and working people. The result was the New York Press, which now has an enormous circulation and did most effective service in the Presidential campaign of 1888. The famous parrot talks were read, reprinted and distributed throughout the country, and always met with appreciation and applause.

In 1889, President Harrison appointed Mr. Porter Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, in the completion of which he is now engaged. In spite of the enormous pressure of the census work Mr. Porter has found, or rather made, time to write a number of articles for encyclopædias, the North American Review, Independent, Frank Leslie's, and other publications. There never has been a census so well and so rapidly taken as the passage of the

Apportionment Bill two years earlier than ever before shows. Its results will add largely to Mr. Porter's reputation for executive ability, shown in the magnificent way he has brought together, equipped and handled a force numbering at different times from 2,000 to 50,000 people ; his broad-mindedness, as evinced in his selection of experts and specialists in all the branches of industry and science with which the census deals; and his skill at financiering in the taking of a census for the first time in the history of the country within the appropriations made by Congress.

Mr. Porter's appearance is not at all in accord with the popular idea of a famous statistical statesman. Sturdy and well knit in figure, with a pair of broad shoulders, and well-set head, massive, it is true, but clearly cut and perfectly proportioned, with piercing dark eyes, a wide, but finely cut mouth, white teeth, silky black hair and fluctuating color, the Superintendent of the Census conveys the impression of a man of mental and bodily vigor, quick, alert, and with a dignity tempered by great good nature. When interested he is an animated talker, and accentuates his meaning by frequent gesticulations with his remarkably small but well formed hands.



# THE PRESS.

*"Take away the sword ;*

*States can be saved without it ; bring the pen."*

*—EDWARD BULWER LYTTON.*

RESPONSE ----- ROBERT P. PORTER, NEW YORK.

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*Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen :*

I am one of the editors who was assigned to a home mission. It has not been a very agreeable one either in some respects. So long as the decennial census of the United States has to be taken under the social conditions that have prevailed during the last quarter of a century, conditions involving great movements of population, the sudden uprising and rapid growth of numerous communities, and a perpetual struggle for commercial and political supremacy between different sections of our common country, so long will a census without complaints be an impossibility. In consequence of this I am obliged to feel my way a little when I light down upon a community. For example, on my arrival here this morning, I interviewed the hotel barber on the subject of the population of Toledo, he of course not suspecting my identity. "What is the population of Toledo?" said I with an air of casual indifference. "Why," said he, with a tone of contempt, "Even those Government fellows give us 84,000, but we have about 104,000." The remainder of that shave passed in the brilliancy of official silence. As with cities, so with States, and perhaps I owe your own splendid State an apology for changing it from the third to the fourth State in the Union. Those of you, however, who read the Democratic papers will understand how this came about. You see, according to our Democratic friends, I have depressed the census in Democratic States and inflated it in Republican States, and I happened to strike Ohio during a Democratic period. Now, ladies and gentlemen, if you will agree to redeem the State from Democratic rule, and should I

ever take another census, I will do my best to put you back into the proud position of third State of this great Republic. Seriously speaking, this change is entirely due to the tremendous increase in the population of Chicago. The increase in city population in Ohio was nearly 46 per cent. and of the rural population nearly 5 cent. In Illinois the city population increased a trifle over 92 per cent. while the rural districts only show an increase of 1.88 per cent.—less than two per cent. In the country districts therefore you are more vigorous than your neighboring State of Illinois. But I must get down to my toast.

The toast assigned me, "The Press, from the Standpoint of American Journalism," has seen its best days. The bones have been picked by abler and more eloquent pens and tongues than mine. The newspaper of to-day has become such a vast and multitudinous institution that it requires more courage than I possess to discuss in it its entirety at a banquet where so many able orators and statesmen are to charm you with their graceful utterances and impress you with their vigorous ideas.

#### WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING.

The press, fellow Republicans, as you know, assumes the function to set us right on all subjects, including, as I have said, the census. Taking advantage therefore of the elasticity of my toast I shall ignore the broader treatment of the subject and confine my remarks to a few suggestions which I hope may be of special interest to Republican editors. At the present time the Democratic party is far better equipped in the direction of cheap and popular newspapers than we are. The so-called independent newspapers are all "gone" on free trade and cheap labor, and here and there we find journals sailing under Republican colors supplying the enemy with articles on the tariff that do more to disturb the public mind on that question, and to help the cause of free trade, than the open batteries of the enemy. It is also safe to say that the circulation of free trade Democratic newspapers is twice that of Republican newspapers. Nearly all the cheap one and two cent newspapers, with large circulation, are Democratic.

#### THE BEST FIELD FOR GOOD PAPERS.

The greatest need of the Republican party to-day is the establishment of bright and cheap newspapers in our centers of indus-

trial and commercial energy. Why in the South, the field has practically been abandoned! The great industrial regions of the New South have no great popular newspaper of National reputation to speak out vigorously in defense of the system which has made possible the progress and development of those States during the last decade. And yet how much could be said, with tremendous effect, by such newspapers, located at a dozen points in the South.

#### THE MAN MOST HATED ABROAD.

The issue of 1892 is now before the people. To a very large extent we all know it must be the patriotic measure which bears the name of the great Ohio statesman (McKINLEY) who is present here to-day. That name is as much hated by those who believe the best and cheapest machine is *man*, as it is loved by those who believe that the safety of the Republic depends in no small degree upon the welfare of our bread-winners and the comfort of our homes. To that measure then, and to the principles which it involves, the Republican press should unhesitatingly direct its editorials.

#### THE CHALLENGE WE ACCEPT.

No efforts should be spared to popularize the discussion of the tariff. Made bold by their temporary victory last fall, the Democratic organs have taken up the McKinley bill and propose to discuss it. Republican editors throughout the country, I beg of you, *accept this challenge!* The more intelligent discussion we have of that bill, the more certain will be our victory in 1892. Discuss it in all its phases. From the standpoint of American homes, of American wages, of American productions, of American prices, of American ingenuity. Analyze it with a view to ascertaining whether or not the employment of several hundred thousand workmen here at home, in industries heretofore conducted in foreign countries, does not give a market right at home for millions of pounds of pork and millions of bushels of grain. Study the census figures of 1890 and find out that the increase in the population of the growing developing industrial centers of these Western States is rapidly encroaching on the food-producing capacity of your fields.

Study it in the tables showing the average prices of grain in manufacturing and agricultural States ; and then tell me if this increase in manufacturing is not beneficial alike to farmer and artisan. If the American farmers could only learn the truth about the home market the free traders would be compelled to abandon all attempts to carry a single Northern agricultural State. I have gone to considerable pains to ascertain the average home prices of farm products in eight farming States and eight manufacturing States. The farming States selected are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska. The manufacturing States are Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland. The following table shows the prices in seven different products in December, 1889:

FARMING STATES.		MANUFACTURING STATES.	
	Per Bushel	Per Bushel	Per Cent More.
Corn-----	24 cents	51 cents-----	112.6
Wheat-----	66 cents	91 cents-----	38
Rye-----	34 cents	60 cents-----	76
Oats-----	18 cents	35 cents-----	94
Barley-----	38.5 cents	60 cents-----	54
Irish potatoes-----	25.5 cents	58 cents-----	121
Hay-----	\$5.30 per bale	\$11.24 per bale-----	111

The average selling price of these products is eighty-three per cent. more in manufacturing States than in agricultural States. This being the case, how is it possible that tariff reduction and consequent decrease of prosperity will not be felt in manufacturing States? The fact is, the extension of manufactures has been of inestimable benefit to the agricultural States. It furnishes beyond question a market right here at home for surplus products instead of compelling the farmer to pay cost of transportation to distant population. Take the statistics of public debt, National, State and local debt, and note the steady and wonderful per capita decrease in the last twenty years and tell me if this indicates diminishing prosperity. Look into the motive of the private indebtedness of the great West, and tell me if the fact that ninety to ninety-five per cent. has been incurred for purchase money and improvement shows decay or progress.

## WHAT IT SHOWS IN NEW FIELDS.

For instance, let us compare the condition of two leading counties in Alabama in 1890 with their condition in 1880. Both were then agricultural, now one is agricultural and the other largely a manufacturing county:

	Per Cent.
Jefferson county, purchase money, etc-----	95.84
Green county, purchase money, etc-----	68.31

Population of Jefferson county in 1880, 23,272; in 1890, 88,370. Increase 280 per cent. The increase of Jefferson county, industrially, is illustrated by the coal and iron output of the Southern States. These States produced in 1870, 184,540 tons of pig iron; in 1880, 350,436 tons; in 1890, 1,780,909 tons. The increase in the mining of coal in Alabama was from 350,000 tons in 1880 to about 3,500,000 tons in 1890.

*Now let us look at Green county:*

82.83 per cent. population is black.

Increase in ten years, 61 persons.

Debt \$7 to one of population.

Here the cause is plainly misfortune, grocery bills, and the low prices on farm products. Green county has no manufactories, no good home market, nor other local advantages of our magnificent protective tariff system.

Traverse the New South, or the splendid expanding West, and where you find the greatest amount of debt there too are the spots of greatest industrial and agricultural development. Where you find stagnation, a stationary population, no enterprise, no hope, there you will find small but more burdensome debts because the motive was grocery bills and farm supplies and not purchase money and improvements.

## HEED IT NOT.

Study, I say, editors of Ohio, all these facts, and refute the false charge that in the midst of plenty, of progress unequalled, of enterprise, of a constantly widening and broadening home market, the American farmer is being pushed to the wall. It is the voice of the demagogue, heed it not. Contrast the condition of manufacturing, of farming, of all occupations and of all profess-

ions that exist in Europe, with those of our own prosperous land, and then ask the people of the United States if such a picture is tempting enough to induce them to abandon the present fiscal system and try "industrial freedom," as the post election spell-binder of the Democratic party terms free trade. Inject a little old fashioned vigor into your editorials. It is false, wickedly false, to say that the tariff is purely for the benefit of American manufacturers.

#### WHEN WE WILL HAVE THEIR PRICES.

Give to our great American manufacturers European rates of wages, and European armies and guns to keep the starving workmen in subjection, and European almshouses for the wage-earners to spend their declining days in, and they will produce you goods cheap enough for the wildest free trader. In those countries women as well as men toil, for man's earnings alone are insufficient to keep body and soul together.

My heart rejoices to find so many ladies present here to-night. It is good that they should feel an interest and take a part in matters that affect them so vitally. And this fact prompts me to say a few words from my heart about the toiling women of Europe. About a competition that we must certainly meet when the doctrine of cheapness and degradation to labor wins the final political victory. When our American mothers, and wives, and sisters, and women folk generally, have to labor as the toiling, suffering multitudes labor on the other side of the Atlantic, then and not until then, gentlemen of the Ohio Republican League, can we dig our minerals, shape our iron, fashion our pottery, spin our yarn, weave our cloth, make our garments, build our houses and produce our commodities as *cheaply*, yea, even MORE CHEAPLY, than the nations of Europe.

#### THE HOME OF CHEAPNESS.

I have traveled all through the industrial regions of Europe and have seen with my own eyes this pinching want among the industrial classes. I have seen women bare-footed in the brick yards of Merrie England, carrying cold slabs of damp clay.

I have seen them filling the coke ovens of Sunny France. I have seen them emerge from the coal pits of busy Belgium. I



have looked on in pity and amazement at women bearing the brunt of the heat and toil in the harvest fields of the German Fatherland.

I have watched with sorrow and indignation women hitched up in Austria-Hungary with dogs dragging trucks and hauling burdens. Sunburnt and bent, with ropes over their shoulders, I have seen women trudging along the banks of the canals and dykes of picturesque Holland, dragging boats along the turgid waters. And, as if to cap the climax of cheapness and degradation, I have seen women, dressed as men, mixing mortar, and carrying bricks up the scaffolding to the bricklayers, in the charming city of Stockholm, Sweden.

Having seen all this, knowing all this, I ask if any one can seriously consider this state of things and yet repose in absolute satisfaction and confidence, as some of our statesmen do, in the doctrine of cheapness? Who suffers from this cheapness?

"Why, flesh and blood, as a matter of course!  
You may talk of iron and prate of force,  
But, after all, and do what you can,  
The best and cheapest machine is man.

Wealth knows it well, and the hucksters feel  
'Tis safer to trust to sinew than steel,  
With a bit of brain, and a conscience behind,  
Muscle works better than steam or wind.  
Better, and longer, and harder, all round;  
And cheap, so cheap!"

The Democratic party was once in favor of cheap men and women. It has now changed its doctrine to cheap goods, which, as I have shown, practically means the same thing.

#### THE PROPOSED INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

It is said that LINCOLN, whose memory we Republicans cherish and whose birthday has been so appropriately celebrated to-day, saw for the first time at New Orleans, in 1831, negroes chained and whipped and scourged, and that his heart bled. It was seeing this that formed his opinion of slavery. It ran its iron into him. And so it would have been had he lived to take part in this new struggle against a slavery which if carried to its natural result means an industrial slavery, second only to that other slavery which the glorious party of ABRAHAM LINCOLN swept off the face of this continent.

Turning for a moment from the more serious aspect of the tariff discussion, may I be pardoned for suggesting another effective method of bringing the every day workings of protection to the minds of those who take things on the wing, and are often led astray by the catch-words of the enemy. For example that well worn phrase of the enemy "*The tariff is a tax.*" We completely knocked the under-pinning from it by the "Bowery Parrot," a mythical bird, by the way, that figured conspicuously in New York in 1888 and did much to elucidate the tariff question.

I have been requested by my young friend Mr. JOSEPH SMITH, not the Mormon, but JOSEPH P. SMITH, editor of the CITIZEN, of Urbana, to recite an ode to that glorious bird. Mr. SMITH has lately been collecting the favorite poems of a number of people in different parts of the country, and among others I notice he puts down Hon. CHARLES A. DANA, editor of the New York Sun, with a preference for that immortal and poetic expression of optimistic philosophy,

"We may be happy yet  
You bet."

And so we may all be, after we have elected another Republican Governor in Ohio (nodding towards MCKINLEY) and now I want to give you my favorite poem:

Somewhere along the Bowery, in weather clear or showery,

A parrot perches daily, near the elevated tracks,  
And whatever may be said to him, or read to him, or sung to him,  
He has nothing else to say except, "*The tariff is a tax.*"

You may tell him that the duty is a thing of joy and beauty,

That it stimulates production, takes account of all the facts;  
When you make a thing it's cheaper, when you buy abroad it's steeper,  
But the parrot answers nothing save, "*The tariff is a tax.*"

You may show him by what stages large production makes good wages,

Brings the buyer side by side with him who makes the thing he lacks,  
Saving cost of transportation from a distant population,  
But the parrot heeds it not and says, "*The tariff is a tax.*"

You may show him that the farmer is happier and calmer,

When he sells his stuff at home, than when for distant points he packs  
That a factory hiring labor is a profitable neighbor,  
But the parrot once more answers, "*The tariff is a tax.*"

Thus the bird goes on repeating, this invariable greeting,

A catch-word from the speeches of old Democratic hacks,  
And the triumph of protection by Ben Harrison's election,  
Has not convinced the parrot that "*The tariff's not a tax.*"



The Bowery Parrot did effective work. From the day of his first appearance to the close of the campaign all sorts and conditions of men and women passed before him in picturesque procession. In this way the tariff was brought home to the people. It enabled us to show the steady decline in prices of every article of general consumption under a protective tariff. It gave an opportunity to expose that fallacy of the free traders that the duty is added to the cost of an article.

#### BETTER GOODS AND CHEAPER THAN EVER.

It convinced the farmer that while his land and products had been increased in value by the neighboring mills and shops, he was buying better articles in the home market for less money than ever before. In short this lucky hit set the thoughtless thinking, brought the most effective catch-words of the enemy into ridicule, and popularized tariff discussion. The opportunity has now arrived for the Republican press of the country to discomfit the enemy in every direction on the question of prices. Advertisements should be scanned, price lists compared, and the cost of everything affected by the tariff watched closely, for the purpose of making tariff pictures, diagrams, and brief talks, exposing falsehoods, and refuting the idea that the tariff is a tax.

#### THE GLIBNESS OF MERE THEORISTS.

The ingenuity of the free traders is great. Their leaders recognize more keenly than our leaders the power of the press. Our opponents are ever awake to utilize this great power for good or evil. Their cant phrases, shallow arguments, ancient axioms, trim little maxims and trite little theories are constantly going the rounds of the opposition press, apparently unchallenged by those who believe in the American system. There is apparently a great lack of bright paragraph work on the protection side of the tariff question. If it be true that the number of readers to each article increases by geometrical progression inversely to its length, a printed paragraph of ten lines would have thousands of readers, while a column editorial would only number them by hundreds.

## THE BEST TEXT-BOOK.

Now is the time to sow the seed of aggressive popular newspaperwork on this and the other questions of the day, if we expect a satisfactory harvest in 1892. The benefits of protection should be brought to the understanding and the hearts of the masses of our countrymen in the plain, direct, earnest, trenchant manner employed by that great protection editor, HORACE GREELEY. There is no better text-book for Republican editors just now than GREELEY'S "Essays on Political Economy." They elucidate the science of political economy and explain and defend the policy of Protection to Home Industry. They are simple and concise. Supplemented by the data attainable to-day, they form an armor with which we may welcome the conflict and feel entirely assured as to the ultimate issue. Bull Runs and Chickamaugas may intervene, but we may look beyond them to our Atlanta and Appomattox.

## THE PLATFORM OF LINCOLN.

As the master hand of HORACE GREELEY, the editor, shaped the economic policies of the great party he helped to found, so the great statesman whose memory we all love and revere, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, almost a generation before he was called upon to lead that party, enunciated his belief in protection. "I am in favor," he said, in March, 1832, "of a National Bank"—that meant honest currency—"I am in favor of the Internal Improvement System"—that meant the development of the mighty West—and "of a High Protective Tariff"—that meant the protection of American homes and decent wages for those who toil. And if alive to-day would he not have added: "I am in favor of a Free Ballot and Honest Count at all elections, because the civil compact of a United Nation must rest now and for all time upon majority rule." And would he not also have given his support to the measures now before Congress to extend the same protection accorded American manufactures to our merchant marine? And lastly, my friends, would he not have heartily favored a simple and business like method of extending our markets into foreign countries without impoverishing our own, such as that suggested by President HARRISON, adopted by Major McKINLEY as part of



his bill, and put into execution within four months after the passage of that bill by JAMES G. BLAINE, a measure, by the way, that belongs exclusively to this administration, and which will be put into practical operation before the 4th of March, 1893.

#### PART OF ITS HISTORY.

Splendid sentiments these for Republicans to-day! Both these types of American manhood, LINCOLN and GREELEY, statesman and editor, were developed into their magnificent proportions by advocating the fundamental ideas of the Republican party as we believe in them now. And shall we not remember the name of LINCOLN as long as the memories of the triumphs of that party over slavery are remembered? As long as the good accomplished by the war remains with us, and as long as we have manhood enough to stand up and fight for the results of those triumphs? Aye, even longer than that! As long as the sense of patriotism and the love of a United Republic remain with us.

With grateful admiring affection we read to our children the story of his life as given us in the ten volumes of those truly American historians, NICOLAY and HAY, and they become strengthened in the love of all that is best and truest and noblest and most inspiring in American history. No matter what the future trials and reverses may be, the party that espoused slavery cannot rob the Republican party of the brilliant galaxy of patriots, soldiers, and statesmen who rallied us to successful contests against the agencies of corruption, of ruin, and of the slavery of human beings. When victory again crowns our efforts, as I believe it will in 1892, those magnificent names that inspire us in defeat will share the triumph of the party they loved and served so well and so faithfully. One by one their familiar faces and figures have disappeared. A sorrowing country weeps to day at the bedside of one of its strongest and greatest and most patriotic, that grand old Ohioan, General WILLIAM T. SHERMAN! But their names and their deeds, thank God, are part of the possessions of the Republican party.





ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be ;  
 How in good fortune and ill the same ;  
 Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,  
 Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

—Tom Taylor in "London Punch."

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